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NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 12, 1789.

SKETCH OF PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES of the UNITED STATES,

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3.

Debate on the subject of fixing the PERMANENT SEAT of GOVERNMENT—Continued.

THE motion of Mr. GOODHUE being read, Mr. MADISON observed, that as the gentleman has been candid enough to inform the committee that their measures have been preconcerted, and that the better half of the Union are to be disposed of by contract, at the sovereign will of the other, I hope they will be also so candid as to show in the clearest manner, that the principles which have now been established are applicable to the motion made by the Member from Massachusetts. I wish they would prove that the place which they have pitched upon, is in fact the permanent center, and New-York the temporary center of wealth, population and extent of territory, that the grounds may be known on which this great question is to be decided.

Mr. GOODHUE replied that the Susquehanna is not far from the center of territory; that it is further south than the center of population, which may fall somewhere on the Delaware. I believe that this center of population will never alter materially, as I suppose it will always incline towards the manufacturing States.

Mr. JACKSON I was originally opposed to the question's coming forward, and am so still. I thought the subject ought not to be touched upon till the States who have not yet acceded to the Union might have an opportunity of giving their voice; I agree with the gentleman from Virginia. I am sorry that people should learn that this matter has been precipitated; that they should learn that the Members from New-England and New-York had fixed on a seat of government for the United States. This is not proper language to go out to freemen. Jealousies have already gone abroad. This language will blow the coals of sedition and endanger the Union. I would ask if the other members of the Union are not also to be consulted? Are the Eastern members to dictate in this business, and fix the seat of government of the United States? Why not also fix the principles of government? Why not come forward and demand of us the power of legislation, and say, give us your privileges, and we will govern for you? If one part has the power to fix the seat of government, they may as well take the government from the other—This looks like aristocracy. Not the United, but the partial voice of America is to decide—how can gentlemen answer for this, who call themselves Representatives on the broad basis of national interest?

I deny the fact of the territorial centrality of the place proposed. From New-York to the nearest part of the province of Maine, it is two hundred and fifty miles; and from New-York to the nearest part of the upper district of Georgia, from which my Colleague, General Matthews comes is eleven hundred miles; and from the proposed place on Susquehanna, it is four hundred miles to the nearest part of Maine, and goes to the nearest part of that district.—The proportion is more than four to one. But the gentleman should have an eye to the population of Georgia. One of the finest countries in the world can not but rapidly extend her population. Nothing but her being harassed by the inroads of savages, has checked her amazing increase, which must under the auspices of peace and safety people her western regions.—Georgia will soon be as populous as any State in the Union. Calculations ought not to be made on its present situation.

He concluded with expressing himself in favor of the Patowmac. Mr. GOODHUE replied that the distance from that part of the province of Maine, from which one of his Colleagues came, to Susquehanna is seven hundred and sixty miles; from Savannah, to the same center about seven hundred; and from Kentucky nearly the same.

Mr. LAURANCE observed, that when this matter was under discussion some time, it appeared to be the wish of the members from the eastward, and of the Representation from this State, that this question should not now be decided. They urged several reasons why it would be improper. I thought those reasons weighty, and was for postponing the consideration till next meeting; but it was answered that the business was important; that the citizens of the United States were uneasy and anxious, that factions did not now exist; and that it was now the proper time to decide this question. What was the Representation from the eastward to do? Was it not necessary for them to consult, and fix upon the proper place?

They are disinterested. It is well known, he said, that government is expected to be fixed in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, or Jersey. We are called on to determine on a question in which we conceive ourselves unbiased, and to determine it on those principles which will reflect honor on this House. I trust it will be found that we have fixed on those principles, and that this resolution will be confirmed by Congress. We do not, he said, decide for the Union, nor for the southern States. We decide for ourselves, and if our reasons are substantial, I trust that gentlemen will meet us in the determination.

There are several principles which have been agreed to in the general resolution. I believe it will be shown with exactness, that the place proposed will come within these principles. The first respects population. Is the House to consider the present or the expected population? The resolution has a determinate meaning: it speaks of the population at the present period; and to calculate on this principle, gentlemen can not say is unjust. The Representation in this House is itself a demonstration of it. The population of this country may be determined pretty safely by the proportion in the House; for it is probable that it is established on this ground. I believe therefore that the principle of population leads to this place in preference to a more southern situation.

But to take up the principle of territory, are the House to calculate on the unhabited wilderness? Shall they take the Lake of the Woods on one side, and the Missouri on the other, and find a geographical center? If so, to what an extent must they go? The inhabited and populated part of the country ought chiefly to be considered. If St. Croix is taken as the eastern limit, and St. Mary as the southern, the center of the line will be found to fall pretty near the Susquehanna.

It is another important consideration that this center is on navigable water, and sufficiently removed from the Atlantic coast, and from access by sea, as to ensure security. With respect to the Western Country, its situation is convenient and favorable, with a communication by land and water, practicable and easy. But another principle should be attended to. It has been hinted that this ought not to govern; but I think it of some importance. Gentlemen should look to those parts of the country where is the highest population, the commercial and opulent cities, and see where is the substantial wealth, the strength of the Union, means by which the United States are to be protected, and the sources from which the government is to draw its principal supports. It will be found that the seat of these is the northern and eastern States.

If the eastern Members had consulted their own interests, they would have chosen the banks of the Delaware; but they knew it

would not be deciding on those generous principles, which might be expected. They knew that there is one State not yet in the Union, to which such a measure would give disgust.

Mr. SEDGWICK asked if there was really any impropriety in gentlemen's consulting together, who had a uniformity of interests upon a question, which it had been said, was so infinitely important. My colleague, said he, has barely stated that such a consultation has taken place, and that in consequence of it, men's minds have been induced to run in a current. Is there any thing wrong in this? Let those who are determined not to consult not have any communication on such a subject, determine for themselves. I should think myself lost to that regard which I owe to my country, and immediate constituents in particular, should I abstract myself from the contemplation of the benefits which would flow from knowing the feelings and sentiments of those with whom I am to act. Instead of being an evidence of that aristocratic spirit which has been mentioned, it is only a proof that men, attentive to their business had preferred that way, which every honest man must have had in view. I have contemplated the subject with great anxiety, and though I can not declare that my local situation has had no influence on my mind, yet I will say I endeavored that it should have none. I believe that the true interests of the country will be best answered by taking a position eastward and northward of the Susquehanna. The Delaware is one extreme, the Patowmac another. But when I reflect how anxious some gentlemen are for one, and some for the other. I am willing to accommodate by advancing to a middle ground, to which I hope the public mind will be reconciled. In fixing this opinion I was also influenced by the sentiment of the celebrated Montesquieu. He has laid it down that in a country partaking of northern and southern interests, of a poor and a productive soil, the center and the influence of government ought to incline to that part where the former circumstances prevailed; because necessity stimulates to industry, produces habits and a surplus of labour; because such parts are the nurseries of soldiers and sailors, and the sources of that energy which is the best security of the government.

The Susquehanna in my opinion is southwest of the center of wealth, population and resources of every kind. I would suggest another idea. In my view, on the principles of population, the Susquehanna is far beyond the center; for I do not think it just on this subject to take the constitutional computation. Will any gentleman pretend that men who are merely the subject of property or wealth should be taken into the estimate, that the slaves of the country, men, who have no rights to protect, being deprived of them all, should be taken into view in determining the center of government? If they are considered, gentlemen may as well estimate the black cattle of New-England.

I would ask if it is of no importance to take a position in which the credit of the government may procure those supplies, that its necessities might require. Will the strength and riches of the country be to the north or to the south of the Susquehanna? Certainly to the north.

It is an opinion of all the eastern States, that the climate of Patowmac, is not only unhealthy but destructive to northern constitutions. It is of importance to attend to this: for let the thing be true or false, such is the public prepossession. Vast numbers of eastern adventurers have gone to the southern States, and all have found their graves there. They have met destruction as soon as they arrived. These accounts have been spread, and filled the northern people with apprehension.

With regard to the temporary residence, I originally had very little concern where it should be, but I believe that if the government should take a temporary stand so central as Philadelphia, so seducing would be the accommodations of that city, and so strong the interest of that powerful State, that it would be more difficult to remove Congress ever from it, than from a place which is acknowledged to be improper for their permanent seat.

Mr. VINING observed, that he must acknowledge himself a party to the bargain, though he had no share in making it. It is, said he, an unexpected bargain to me, though it involves the interests of the State which I represent. I am yet to learn whether Congress are to tickle the trout in the stream of the Codorus, to build their sumptuous palaces on the banks of the Patowmac, or to admire commerce, with her expanded wings on the waters of the Delaware. I have on this occasion educated my mind to impartiality, and have chartered its prejudices.

I confess to the House and to the world, that viewing this subject with all its circumstances, I am in favor of the Patowmac. I wish the seat of government to be fixed there, because I think the interest, the honor, and the greatness of this country require it. I look on it as the center from which those streams are to flow, that are to animate and invigorate the body politic. From thence it appears to me the rays of government will most naturally diverge to the extremities of the Union. I declare that I look on the Western Territory in an awful and striking point of view. To that region the unpolished sons of the earth are flocking from all quarters. Men to whom the protection of the laws and the controlling force of the government are equally necessary from this great consideration I conclude that the banks of the Patowmac are the proper station.

With respect to the temporary residence. The accommodations which have been mentioned operate as reasons against New-York. It is indeed but too agreeable; its allures are too dangerous; when I look round I see such handsome arguments addressed to my feelings that my understanding dreads their impression.

Mr. LEE moved to strike out the words "east bank of the Susquehanna" and to insert a clause to this effect, That whereas the banks of the Patowmac united all the aforesaid advantages with fertility of soil, salubrity of climate, &c. Resolved that the permanent seat of government ought to be fixed some where on the banks of the said river.

He then stated at large the comparative advantages of Patowmac, its great and increasing improvements, the extent of its navigation, its direct communication with the Western Country, and its easy communication with the Eastern and Southern States.

The House, he said, are now to determine whether regard is to be had to a central position—whether regard is to be had to the people of the Western Territory, to the greater portion of the territory of the Union: In point of climate, it is extremely salubrious, in fertility it is exceeded by no country on earth. Thither will emigrants from all quarters flock.

I ask if this government is intended for a temporary or a lasting one; whether it is to be a fleeting vision, or to continue for ages? I hope that the result will proclaim that the government is calculated for perpetuity, and that the common interests of the country have been consulted. If that is done, the government will be removed to the Patowmac; if not, we shall stop short of it; and what will be the consequence? I am averse to sound alarms, or introduce terrors into the House; but if they are well founded, I think it my duty. It is well known with what difficulty the Constitution was adopted by the State of Virginia. It was then said that there would be confederacies of the States East of Pennsylvania, which would destroy the Southern States. That they would unite their councils in discussing questions relative to their particular interests, and the Southern States would be disregarded. To these suspicions it was answered, no! It was contended that the magnanimous policy arising from mutual interests and com-

mon dangers would unite all the States, and make them pursue objects of general good. But if it should be found that there are such confederacies as were predicted, that the Northern States do consult their partial interests, and form combinations to support them, without regarding their Southern brethren, they will be alarmed, and the faith of all fourth of the Patowmac will be shaken. It will be shown to them, that what was predicted by the enemies to the Constitution has come to pass, that the Northern States have not even waited till the Government was organized, but are sacrificing the Southern people to their own interests.

Let the seat be fixed where it will, Virginia has not solicited Congress to place its feet in her State. She only contends that the interests of the Southern and Western country should be consulted. And I declare, that these interests will be sacrificed if Congress fixes on any place but the Patowmac. The greater part of Virginia is distant from that river. Many parts are not nearer than New-Jersey. She wishes not to have the seat on the Patowmac but for the general good. It is not for the benefit of that State, but the Union.

Mr. LAURANCE said it is improper and unnecessary to hold out terrors to the fancy of members. The true way to convince them is to address their understanding. I am sure there is no dangerous confederacy which the gentleman has talked of. I believe that the conduct of the Northern States will bear the strictest scrutiny; that if probed to the bottom it will be found fair and candid. I remember in the debate upon the tonnage bill a gentleman from Virginia observed that could the moderate and equal policy of that day's proceeding have been foreseen in the Convention of Virginia, it would have obviated many objections that were there produced against the Constitution.

In conducting the business before us, I trust that gentlemen will find no cause eventually to entertain different sentiments from what he then delivered.

Mr. MADISON: I admit that on a former occasion I applied the remark quoted by the gentleman from New-York; but I now as verily believe, that had a Prophet started up in that Convention, and foretold the proceedings of this day, Virginia would not now be a party to this Constitution. A motion being made for rising.

Mr. SEDGWICK: I hope the committee will not rise. Will it be contended, that the majority shall not govern; and shall the minority because they can not carry their points, accuse the House of want of candor? Are we to be told that an important State would not have joined the Union had they known what would have been the proceedings of this House? Gentlemen have brought forward this business themselves: They have precipitated the House into it. We prayed, said he, we supplicated for time; and now gentlemen from some causes not explained, wish to postpone the matter, in order to have time to deliberate. I believe that a deliberation of six weeks would not alter a single opinion, and it is not proper to consume the public time uselessly.

Mr. MADISON contended for a postponement as a right. Debate ought not to be precluded, said he. The minority certainly are to be governed by the majority, but they claim a right to bring forward all those facts and arguments which can have any possible influence. It is unusual to press for a decision on occasions like these, after a partial discussion of a single day. Questions of less magnitude have occupied weeks. This business presents an aspect; it marks a genius in this body, which will contradict the expectations of its warmest friends. I wish to make many observations for which there is not now an opportunity. I wish to speak to gentlemen who will open their ears; and not to silent majorities, who bear down every thing before them. I hope another day to experience a cooler and more favorable temper.

Mr. AMES: I remember, said he, that when this subject came before the House the other day, when we solicited for delay, it was observed that the necessities of the Union required an immediate decision—that it would take up but little time—that the proper centre might be easily ascertained—that this would depend on geographical calculation, and that little discussion would be necessary. Now, when circumstances appear to be changed—when the calculation is made—when the House are ready to vote, gentlemen come forward and pretend that they want time. I hope the question will be now decided. While I am up I would observe that I do not entertain a doubt of the patriotism and good intentions of the gentlemen from Virginia. I believe however, that their judgments are influenced by their wishes, for they seem to be engaged with a degree of eagerness which none else appear to feel. The very language of their motion declares this. They seem to think the banks of Patowmac a paradise, and that river a Euphrates. I have been told it is a fine spot—and I sincerely wish those blessings may ever reside there.

Mr. BURKE: The Northern States have had a fortnight to manage this matter, and will not now allow the Southern a day. What is the conduct of gentlemen? A league has been formed between the Northern States and Pennsylvania. [Here Mr. Fitzsimons contradicted him.] This morning furnished the first information of it. I want information. I call on gentlemen for the honor of the House to give more time.

The question on rising was carried.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4.

Mr. SCOTT, being called on, said, he had no objection to give his sentiments. The resolve which I laid on the table has been honored by a majority of the House. It contains such principles as I believe ought to govern in the settlement of this grand question. Whether the place which has been moved for is the right one, is a matter yet to be decided.

Taking the Atlantic coast for a guide, the Susquehanna involves undoubtedly the center of wealth, population and territory. All that has been said of the western territory has not induced me to wish that all that immense country should be brought into view. The resolution holds out an idea that the Atlantic States should go as near that country as their own convenience would allow. This is all I expect or hope for. I am convinced that to go farther west than this point of convenience, would be to injure the Western Territory itself. The question seems to lie between the Susquehanna and Patowmac. The center which I contemplate lies between them, at nearly equal distances, but rather nearer the latter. I am pretty well acquainted with both rivers.

He then gave a geographical description of those rivers, which to avoid any possible errors, we shall not attempt to trace. The description related to their several advantages of communication with the Western Territory. In his calculation he considered Pittsburgh as the key of that Territory; and that the advantages of one river or the other must be determined, by its relation to the place. The result of his detail was a conclusion clearly in favor of the Patowmac. To do justice to the committee, he said, I must declare that there is no comparison between the advantages of one communication and the other, with respect to the Ohio Country. Patowmac will no doubt, one day, be a very important channel into those regions.

He concluded by observing, that though he thought that the Patowmac was nearer that centre of communication between the Atlantic and the Ohio, than the Susquehanna, as there was no prospect of a decision in favor of the former, he should give his vote for the Susquehanna. In this situation, as he was a native of Pennsylvania, there was a certain duty which he owed to his country, and which he should now perform.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 7.

The Ayes and Noes upon the important propositions respecting the permanent residence of Congress.

On Mr. LEE's motion for inserting the Patowmac.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Bland, Brown, Burke, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Gale, Griffin, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sumpter, Tucker, Vining. 21.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Boudinot, Cadwallader, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 29.

On Mr. Vining's motion for inserting Delaware at large.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Bland, Boudinot, Burke, Cadwallader, Coles, Contee, Griffin, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Sinnickson, Smith, (S. C.) Sumpter, Vining. 19.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Brown, Carroll, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gale, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Stone, Thatcher, Trumbull, Tucker, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 32.

On Mr. Boudinot's moving to insert Patowmac, Susquehanna and Delaware.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Bland, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Griffin, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Sinnickson, Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sumpter, Tucker, Vining. 23.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gale, Gerry, Goodhue, Gilman, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 28.

Mr. Boudinot then proposed to insert the banks of the Delaware, not more than eight miles above or below the lower falls.

AYES. Messrs. Boudinot, Cadwallader, Gerry, Sinnickson. 4.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Bland, Brown, Burke, Carroll, Clymer, Coles, Contee, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gale, Gilman, Goodhue, Griffin, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Jackson, Lorraine, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Muhlenberg, Page, Parker, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sumpter, Thatcher, Trumbull, Tucker, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 46.

Mr. Stone moved to strike out the word "east," so that the resolution would read on the banks, &c. This was carried.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Bland, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Gale, Griffin, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Seney, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sumpter, Tucker, Vining. 26.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Van Rensselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 25.

Mr. LEE proposed to add after "Pennsylvania" or Maryland.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Bland, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Gale, Griffin, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Stone, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Smith, (S. C.) Sumpter, Tucker, Vining. 25.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Ransselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sumpter, Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 26.

Mr. Vining moved to insert Wilmington as the temporary residence.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Bland, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Gale, Griffin, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Sinnickson, Sumpter, Vining. 21.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Ransselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Thatcher, Trumbull, Tucker, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 30.

Mr. PARKER proposed Philadelphia as the temporary residence.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Gale, Griffin, Heister, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Sinnickson, Smith, Sumpter, Vining. 22.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Bland, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Ransselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (S. C.) Thatcher, Trumbull, Tucker, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 29.

Mr. GALE offered a motion, the substance of which was, to make the residence of Congress on the Susquehanna conditional, by providing that the Legislatures of Maryland, and Pennsylvania, should open the Navigation of the river Susquehanna.

AYES. Messrs. Baldwin, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Gale, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Seney, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Smith, (S. C.) Stone, Sumpter, Tucker, Vining. 24.

NOES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gerry, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Ransselaer, Scott, Sherman, Sylvester, Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 25.

The question was then put on the whole proposition, and the yeas and nays being called for, it was carried in the affirmative.

AYES. Messrs. Ames, Benson, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Floyd, Foster, Gale, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hartley, Hathorn, Heister, Lorraine, Livermore, Muhlenberg, Partridge, Ransselaer, Scott, Seney, Sherman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Stone, Thatcher, Trumbull, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 28.

NOES. Messrs. Baldwin, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Coles, Contee, Gerry, Jackson, Lee, Madison, Matthews, Moore, Page, Parker, Sinnickson, Smith, (S. C.) Sumpter, Tucker, Vining. 21.

WEDNESDAY, SEPT. 9.

Mr. GOODHUE, of the committee appointed to take into consideration fundry memorials and petitions of the merchants, and citizens of the State of Rhode Island, and the memorial of Dr. Williamson in behalf of the citizens of North-Carolina, brought in a bill to suspend the operation of so much of the tonnage law, as subjects the people of those States to the alien tonnage duty.

Read the first time.

It was moved that that part of The President's late message, which refers to the troops now in the service of the United States, be referred to a special committee—which being agreed to, Messrs Boudinot, Trumbull, and Burke, were appointed.

In committee of the whole on the Judiciary bill.

Mr. BOUDINOT in the chair.

Some progress was made in the discussion—alterations in several of the sections as to the places of holding the district courts took place—having

proceeded as far as the tenth section, the committee rose.

A message was received from the Senate, returning several bills, viz. The bill for allowing compensations to The President and Vice President—The Senate insist on their amendment to this bill, and request a conference with the House upon the subject—having appointed managers on their part, Mr. King, Mr. Izard, and Mr. Morris. The bill for allowing compensations to the members and officers of the two Houses—the Senate concur in the proposal of the House for a conference on the subject of disagreement respecting this bill—and appointed conferees on their part.

The bill for establishing the salaries of the officers in the executive departments—the Senate recede from some of their amendments to this bill, and insist upon others.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the foregoing.

It was moved that conferees on the part of the House be appointed agreeable to the request of the Senate—which motion being agreed to, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Livermore, and Mr. Goodhue, were appointed.

In the bill for establishing the salaries, the Senate insist on their amendment, to raise the salary of the Treasurer from 1600 to 2000 dollars. It was moved that the House recede from their disagreement. This was carried in the affirmative—to the Treasurer's salary is 2000 dollars.

The Senate insist on their amendment for striking off 500 dollars from the salary of the Governor of the Western Territory.

The House receded from their disagreement to this also. So the salary of the Governor of the Western Territory, to include the Superintendency of Indian affairs, is 2000 dollars.

The report of the committee on the letter from the Post Master General was read—and adopted by the House.

The motion laid on the table yesterday by Mr. Gerry, was taken up, and after a few observations referred to a select committee, consisting of Messrs Stone, Parker, and Griffin.

The House then adjourned.

THURSDAY, SEPT. 10.

The enrolled bills for establishing the salaries of the executive officers, and to provide for the safe keeping of the acts, records, and great seal of the United States, having been examined by the committee, and reported correct, were signed by the Speaker.

Mr. BOUDINOT presented a petition from the inhabitants of the county of Essex, in New-Jersey, praying that Perth Amboy may be the place for holding the district courts in that State. Laid on the table.

The bill for suspending the operation of part of the tonnage act read a second time, and ordered to be engrossed for a third reading.

Mr. SHERMAN of the committee of conference reported that a conference with the committee of the Senate had taken place, upon the subject of discrimination in the pay of the two Houses, proposed as an amendment to the salary bill, and insisted on by the Senate. This report was in substance, That they had come to no precise agreement—that the Senate could not be induced to recede from their amendment—but by way of compromise, the committee on the part of the Senate proposed, that the compensation provided for by the present bill should be limited to seven years—the last of which the compensation of the Senate to be at 7 dollars—Or, they proposed that the House should pass a law providing for their own compensation, without including the Senate.

It was moved that the House should recede from their disagreement, and concur with the Senate in their amendment, with an amendment.

This was opposed by Mr. Jackson, Mr. White, Mr. Burke, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Thatcher, and Mr. Tucker—and supported by Mr. Benson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Lee, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Fitzsimons, Mr. Lorraine, Mr. Ames, and Mr. Sherman.

Very little, that was new, occurred in the course of the observations made—and on the motion for the report of the committee's lying on the table, being lost, it was moved that the main question for concurring with the Senate be put, the Ayes and Noes were called, and are as follows:

AYES.

Messrs Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Brown, Cadwallader, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Gale, Gerry, Griffin, Hartley, Huntington, Lorraine, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Moore, Muhlenberg, Scot, Sherman, Smith, (S. C.) Trumbull, Vining, Wynkoop. 24.

NOES.

Messrs Bland, Boudinot, Burke, Carrol, Coles, Contee, Floyd, Foster, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hathorn, Heister, Jackson, Matthews, Page, Parker, Partridge, Ransselaer, Schureman, Seney, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Stone, Sumpter, Thatcher, Tucker, White. 29.

The committee on the petition of the public creditors, and other citizens of Philadelphia, reported, that the petition deserved the attentive consideration of Congress; but as the present session was so short, and it was necessary to dispatch much important business now before Congress, it became impracticable to give the subject, this

session, the attention which it merited. They therefore submitted a resolution to the following effect "That it highly concerns the honor and interest of the United States to make some early and effectual provision in favor of the public creditors of the Union, and that the House would early next session, take this subject into consideration."

This report was laid on the table.

Mr. BOUDINOT then moved, that a committee be appointed to bring in a bill to establish the compensations of the members and the officers of both houses, for one year.

It being suggested by the Speaker that it would be proper to delay this matter till the Senate had been informed of the vote of the House, the motion was laid on the table. Then the House adjourned.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER, 11.

The engrossed bill for suspending the operation of part of the Tonnage Act, was read the third time—the suspension to continue till the 15th of January next.

It was then passed to be enacted.

Mr. BURKE moved that the House should reconsider the vote of yesterday, not to recede from their disagreement to the amendment proposed by the Senate to the bill for allowing compensations to the Members and officers of both Houses.

Mr. MADISON supposing that the bill was lost by the vote of yesterday, queried whether it was in order to reconsider that vote; or whether such a vote could be laid to restore the bill. The affirmative of this enquiry, he conceived, involved many difficulties: It would extend to repealing the laws, as well as to reviving them without going through those previous formalities, which are required by the Constitution.

Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. GERRY, and Mr. LAURANCE, observed, that the bill could not be considered as lost, as the House had directed the Clerk to inform the Senate of what had taken place; the Senate being adjourned, their opinion could not be known. The bill and the vote were still in possession of the House; nor could there be a doubt that the law, if now completed by a concurrence in the amendment of the Senate, would not be as valid as any law that had been enacted.

It being doubted whether the motion was in order, the Speaker gave his opinion that it was strictly so; and appealing to the House, they confirmed his determination.

Mr. BURKE's motion for a reconsideration being put, and the ayes and noes called, they are as follow:

AYES.

Messrs Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Gale, Gerry, Griffin, Hartley, Huntington, Lorraine, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Moore, Muhlenberg, Page, Scott, Sherman, Smith, (S. C.) Trumbull, Vining, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 29.

NOES.

Messrs Bland, Coles, Contee, Floyd, Foster, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hathorn, Heister, Jackson, Matthews, Parker, Partridge, Ransselaer, Schureman, Seney, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Stone, Sumpter, Thatcher, Tucker, White. 25.

Majority for reconsidering 4.

On the question for receding from the disagreement to the amendment of the Senate, and to agree thereto with their proposed amendment—The ayes and noes being called, are as follow:

AYES.

Messrs Ames, Baldwin, Benson, Boudinot, Brown, Burke, Cadwallader, Carroll, Clymer, Fitzsimons, Gale, Gerry, Griffin, Hartley, Huntington, Lorraine, Lee, Livermore, Madison, Moore, Muhlenberg, Scott, Sherman, Smith, (S. C.) Trumbull, Vining, Wadsworth, Wynkoop. 28.

NOES. Messrs Bland, Coles, Contee, Floyd, Foster, Gilman, Goodhue, Grout, Hathorne, Heister, Jackson, Matthews, Page, Parker, Partridge, Seney, Schureman, Sylvester, Sinnickson, Smith, (M.) Stone, Sumpter, Ransselaer, Thatcher, Tucker, White. 26.

This motion being determined in the affirmative saved the bill. In Committee of the whole on the bill for establishing judicial courts.

Mr. BOUDINOT in the chair.

The committee proceeded in the discussion as far as the 16th section, they then rose, and the House adjourned.

EUROPEAN ACCOUNTS, BY THE LAST ARRIVALS.

PARIS, JUNE 29. The people have at last carried their point. The commotions were mentioned in our last; the dread of what might follow the provinces, the patriotic conduct of the soldiers, and above all, the calm determined firmness of the Commons, have overset all the arbitrary plans concerted at Marli, the intrigues of the Nobles, and the insidious manoeuvres of the Hierarchy. The minority of the Nobles, after exerting their last efforts and entering a most spirited protest, signed by 66 Members, united at length with the National Assembly on Thursday, to the number of 48, were followed by others on the succeeding days. A great body of the Clergy had already joined, but nearly an equal number still persisted, headed by the Archbishop of Paris, and the Cardinal de la Rochefoucault, Archbishop of Rouen. A letter from the King, however, put an end to this perseverance, and the remainder of the Clergy, as well as the Nobles, acceded to the union on Saturday afternoon. The instant this great event took place an immense multitude of persons of all ranks, many even of the most respectable condition, who had constantly surrounded the Hall, and all its avenues for several days, to protect their Representatives, flocked to the Palace, and filling the courts, terrace, &c. made the air resound with their acclamations. The King and Queen appeared in a balcony, where they remained a quarter of an hour to receive the blessings and applauses of their subjects. His Majesty melted into tears at the sight, and seemed to feel, in all its force, the joy, the comfort, the glory of being beloved. Under such happy auspices, there is little fear of every thing doing well, more especially as even the instructions of the Nobility are decidedly in favor of a new Constitution, previous to their granting pecuniary aid; the voting by a plurality of the whole and not by orders, seems to be the natural consequence of the great victory of the Commons; it is supposed

there will be another Royal Session to-morrow, (Tuesday) to annul the proceedings at the last, and finally to put the great national business in train. The Assembly was adjourned to that day, on the motion of M. Bailly, the President of the Commons, who observed, that so great an event as the happy union of the States General, called for a momentary suspension of all other business, and merited an interval for congratulations and rejoicings.

The following is a list of the patriotic Nobles who made the first step, and whose names deserve to be held up to the friends of liberty throughout Europe.

Le Duc d'Orleans, Le Duc d'Aiguillon, Dandré, Le Marquis de Lezay-Marzia, Le Vicomte de Toulangeon, Le Comte de Crillon, Le Vicomte de Beauharnois, Le Pheline, Le Vicomte Desandrouns, Le Marquis de la Coste, Le Comte de Castellane, Le Marquis de Blacons, Le Marquis de Langon, Le Comte de la Blache, Le Comte de Antoine d'Agoult, Le Comte de Virieux, Le Comte de Morge, Le Baron de Chalon, Le Comte de Marzanne, De Burle, D'Eymar, De Nemperre de Champagny, De Pres le Grefier, Le Marquis de Biancourt, D'Aguesseau, Freteau, Le Comte de le Touche, Le Comte de Montmorency, Le Chevalier de Maulette, Le Comte de Clermont-Tonnere, Le Duc de la Rochefoucault, Le Comte de Luzignan, Dionis du Sejour, Dupert, Le Marquis de Montesquiou-Fezenzac, Alexandre de Lameth, Le Marquis de la Tour-Maubourg, Le Marquis de Sillery, Le Baron d'Harmbure, Le Duc de Tuynes, Le Marquis de Lenosse, Le Baron de Menou, Le Comte de Telle, with three others.

In the late eminent crisis of public affairs, the dragoons, and all the national troops in the neighborhood of Paris, loudly declared, that they would neither draw a sword, nor fire a musquet against their countrymen.

The day after the French guards refused to fire on the people, they were all ordered to be confined to their quarters, both at Paris and Versailles, excepting those on duty. They were not, however, restrained by the orders of their officers, but declaring that they had no intention to be turbulent or desert, left their barracks, and for two succeeding days amused themselves in walking about the streets, &c. where they were regaled and applauded by their fellow-citizens. At the palace Royal, the headquarters of liberty, the coffee-houses were filled with them, every body striving who should be first to entertain them. Judge what an effect all this must have produced at Court, and what was to be expected in the Provinces, had the Comte d'Artois and his violence prevailed.

LONDON, JULY 4. The French Ambassador has had a second interview with Mr. Pitt, on the subject of the present distresses of the French nation, occasioned by the great scarcity of corn and flour.

There are 15,000 troops in Paris, Versailles, and its neighbourhood. And yet, very much to the astonishment and discomfiture of the court, they could not get a regiment to draw a trigger.

Extract of a letter from Paris, June 26.
"A Member of the National Assembly moved lately, that the benches, on which they sat should have been put to them, for the greater convenience of the gentlemen who are obliged to occupy them for so many hours; 'Is it to be thought,' said he, on the motion being opposed, 'that the King thinks his grandeur consists in being seated on an elevated throne, while his subjects are crawling at his feet. These marks of servility might have pleased Louis XIV, whose heart was spoiled by the base adulation of his courtiers, who demeaned themselves to the condition of menial servants; but they would dishonor Louis XVI, and should not be suffered to profane the Temple of Liberty. Let all due respect be paid to the Sovereign, but let us not forget what is due to our own dignity, as men, as Representatives of the Majesty of the People of France, of whom the Monarch is in reality no more than the most distinguished individual.' Such language from the mouth of a Frenchman, and in Paris, you will think incredible: But had you been for even a short space of time accustomed to hear the expressions hourly made use of in coffee-houses, private societies, and on the public walks, you would readily believe it. One party maintains, for instance, and openly avows it, that the Nobility, sooner than relinquish their privileges, will wash their hands in the blood of the rabble. While the other as openly declares, that the National Assembly shall be cemented with the blood of the Nobles. And yet, notwithstanding all this, there are those who think it not improbable that this momentous business will terminate—a la Française—in a song—vox, vox, et preterea nihil! It must, however, be owned, that it wears a very serious aspect."

Extract of a letter from Paris, June 29.
"The States-General have at last come to a right understanding. The Nobility and Clergy joined the Tiers Etat on Saturday, and this August Assembly will now seriously occupy themselves about the important objects for which they have been called together."

By advices received in town from Abo, in Sweden, dated May 29, we are informed, that on the preceding day a courier passed through that place on his way to Stockholm, from the frontiers, with the news of an action having taken place between the Russians and Swedes, in which the former had five hundred killed on the spot; the Swedes lost only 19. A baggage magazine belonging to the Russians was burnt.

THE RURAL RETREAT.

O, WHAT a charming thing and pretty,
To have a noble, Federal City!
Surpassing in few years to come,
All that history says of Rome;
That ancient seat of arts and wars,
The mother of eternal jars!
Not near old oceans' margin built,
Where blood by hogheads may be spilt;
Where ships which vomit smoke and fire,
May force the people to retire;
May set a scampering our patricians,
Curfing all maritime positions.
Besides, all sea port towns, we know,
The floods of horrid vice o'erflow;
There business, noise, and dissipation,
Distract the rulers of the nation!
There morn, and noon, and midnight revels,
With a long list of Syren devils—
Balls, treats, and visits—arts cajoling,
Will set their wits and senses rolling,
Till on the rocks of tempting beauty,
They shipwreck honor, truth, and duty.
No, let us to the woods repair,
For peace and innocence dwell there:
There, in the times beyond the flood,
When men were frugal, wise, and good,
Beneath an oak, or beechen shade,
The best of human laws were made:
They wanted then no central station—
Their Federal Hall the whole Creation.
Then let us to the woods repair,
And build a Federal City there,
Where nature never fails to please,
In hills and dales, and shrubs and trees;
Where ancient Sages gather'd knowledge,
Without the aid of church or college.
Secluded from the noisy hive,
Who business, arts and pleasure drive.
"In the cool grove and mossy cell,"
Where truth and inspiration dwell,
Without a buzzing in our ears,
Of speculator's hopes and fears,
What Laws and Statutes shall be made!
To help the basket making trade;
To regulate the country roads,
And clear the neighbourhood of toads;
To regulate the time for hatching
Hens eggs—and fad, and oyster-catching;
What time is best to ring the swine,
And other business in that line—
To bind in leagues of fix'd opinion,
The States who form this great dominion.

MR. FENNO,

IN the Gazette of the United States of Wednesday last, there appeared some strictures on the extracts of two letters published in the Daily Gazette, of 24th and 31st of August. I shall not pretend to follow that writer through his long performance, teeming with words, but sterile in ideas. Neither shall I enter into a critical examination of his state of facts, as I conceive it altogether alien to the present purpose, whether this, or that, or the other State formerly gave its delegates in Congress, four, five, or six dollars a day: The question is whether the sum which has been agreed to by a majority of the House of Representatives is too much? I think it is not, and I think myself tolerably safe in coinciding in opinion with so respectable characters as formed the majority on that occasion. However every man has a right to judge, but no man has a right to impeach the motives of those who openly avow their sentiments, and in that avowal make an appeal to the decent and uninfluenced tribunal of the public:—Not to be sure, to be vilified and abused, but to have an impartial decision upon their conduct. To charge men thus circumstanced with designing views, unfriendly to the truth, and the public interest, indicates a mind totally insensible to delicacy or honor. I am wholly uncertain who the letter writers are—I thought there was weight, and candor in their observations:—And he must be a witacre indeed, who can suppose that any person, who had the least regard to his own reputation, would, in a public paper, utter designedly a known falsehood. I believe the letter writers supposed the relation they gave was true.—And true it is for ought that appears to the contrary. But this laconic animadverter asks, "how the wonderful logician knows that Congress is to set but two or three months in a year?" It is supposed that the public business will not require a longer time. And those letter writers justly suppose that Congress will not needlessly prolong their sessions. All the difference that I can see is this—The animadverter thinks that Congress may set eight or nine months, in which case the expense to the public at four dollars a day, will be just double what it will at six dollars a day for three months. The truth is, that four dollars a day will keep the new, as it did the old Congress, always in session,—a desirable object with some. Every man makes an estimate of what he thinks his public services ought to be compensated at. And till mankind are lost to all sense of public infamy, that compensation will always be within defensible and just limits. The words "aristocratic," "small fortunes," "nobles," &c. convey a very obvious meaning—but are here applied with a very ill grace. It is however, too much to be feared, that persons who have no pretensions from their abilities, to the public favor, will find their account in such popular canting.

C I V I S.

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 12.

The PRESIDENT of the United States has been pleased to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint the Hon. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, of New-York, Secretary of the Treasury. And Hon. NICHOLAS EVERLEIGH, of S. Carolina, Comptroller of the Treasury.

On Tuesday last, being the first public levee at the President's, since his mother's decease was known in this city, several gentlemen of the two Houses of Congress, and other respectable persons, attended it, in American mourning. This silent mark of respect, flowing spontaneously from the hearts of freemen sympathizing with him in this domestic misfortune, manifests sentiments and emotions which no language can express in a manner so unequivocal and delicate.

The late interesting debates of an honorable assembly, upon the subject of a permanent residence, have given rise to a variety of sensations and opinions: Some have applauded, and others condemned: Combinations have been talked of, and the conduct of the associators has been reprehended—with how much justice we will not pretend to determine: A more Southern situation than the Susquehanna, would never have been agreeable to the Eastern and Northern States—and it may be fairly questioned, whether the real interest of the Southern States will be eventually promoted by taking a position so far South as that.

Emigrations are from the North to the South. What does this prove, but that the excess of population is in the former. The truth is, this excess must swarm, and the Southern regions will always afford room; and never be full. Should accession from the Northward fail, it is pretty evident they would in time be depopulated.

Extract of a letter from the State of Rhode-Island, dated, September 4, 1789.

"The federalists, in this State form a class of citizens more important in a national view than is generally imagined. They are principally merchants, and the circumstances of our commerce require the greatest enterprise and the closest calculation. As our staple is inconsiderable we must have recourse to a circuitous kind of traffic. It is evident we must find employment for we cannot submit to perish, while objects of any kind present themselves which can afford subsistence. Now it is evident if Congress shut us out from a participation of the advantages resulting from the new government, we shall be compelled into a line of business that will injure the interests of the United States. Nothing of this kind is at present dreamed of.—But I will not be answerable what turn the imagination of people will take. It is well known that our merchants were formerly celebrated for their skill in smuggling. They have not totally forgot the sweets of their former practice. We lie between two States of an extensive sea coast, inhabited by people who are not enemies to illicit gains. Should we be deprived of lawful admission into those States on equal terms with the other citizens of the Union, our necessities will drive us to expedients which we now reprobate. Necessity breaks through all rules of justice and patriotism. When once we have got our hand in, we shall not readily relinquish the plan. We know that Connecticut is not unaccustomed to connive at practices that will throw advantages into the hands of their citizens, and as for Massachusetts they are not free from persons who have an inordinate love of money."

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in London, to his friend in New-York, dated July 4, 1789.

"It is with the greatest pleasure I learn, that the new Constitution is likely to be solidly established. I hope the two Houses will be firm and decided in their measures, and not suffer their federal power to be disputed or trifled with by any particular State; if they do, they will soon dwindle into that nominal and nerveless power, which distinguished the government of the late Congress. The truly illustrious General Washington is a treasure which I hope the United States will long enjoy—a man like him, at the head of government, will give it a weight and energy which it otherwise would not so fully possess, and must make it highly respectable to all the European powers."

INTELLIGENCE BY THE LAST MAIL.

BOSTON, SEPT. 5.

Extracts of letters from New-York, August 30.

"I have been here but three weeks, and in that time have heard, in my occasional visits to the Gallery, more Oratory, Learning, Law, and Good Sense, from the Members of the House, than I ever before heard in my life. And for abilities of every kind, I do not think a like number could be collected in the United States that would be superior."

"I received 'the Fragment' you sent me.—So far as the Poem is noticed here (for there are some in the city) it is with indignation and contempt. As to the Vice-President, his character rests upon the broad basis of virtue and abilities, and is not to be shaken by the attacks of envy, malice and disappointment. Another High Officer, who is also an object of the Poem, is universally respected—and since I have been here, I have heard it said in the House, that the public service is as much promoted by this officer, as by any other whatever: That the public military stores under his care are worth a million of money—and that they are, through his vigilance and attention, kept in such order, that the United States are, in this respect, in constant preparation for war.—No man can be more respected than he is—and for the attack, I believe it would puzzle a Sybil to assign a cause."

"The examples of former ages do, beyond all comparison, more sensibly affect us, than those of our own times."

ONE of my former speculations touched upon the propensity of mankind to feel too strong an admiration for the objects of antiquity. I promised at that time, that the subject should be again introduced.

It is not improbable that the Roman and some other ancient characters were more deeply marked both with virtues and vices, than what the present age exhibits. Civilization wears off the sharp points of passions and prejudices that stimulate men in a more uncultivated state of society. A commercial spirit has obtained an ascendancy over the warlike disposition of ancient times. These reasons may perhaps solve the question, though they may not be the most philosophic the subject admits of.

The difference between the character of ancient and modern times, is greater in imagination than reality. Custom renders the objects, we every day behold, so familiar that we view them without astonishment. Our contemporaries exhibit virtues without being noticed or praised; and commit vices, that excite little indignation or reproach.

The apothegms of ancient philosophers are celebrated for their wisdom. They are quoted on many occasions by persons, who are themselves capable of conceiving ideas of greater depth and propriety. We hear remarks in conversation that shew great sagacity, and soon forget them. But when an aphorism has the sanction of some splendid name of antiquity, it is supposed far enough to exceed any thing modern.

Many persons are captivated with ancient eloquence and poetry. It was more the custom in former times than at present to address the passions. This circumstance gives an ardor to some of their orations, which is not usual in modern speeches. Great orators can only be formed by great occasions. The convulsed state of ancient governments kept the turbulent feelings of the human mind always on the stretch. Their public speakers were invigorated with the subject, and interested in the event. After all, I think we have no occasion to look to antiquity for specimens of the most sublime and animated oratory.

It may seem paradoxical, but I believe it is very true, that a general prevalence of knowledge among a people smother the flame of eloquence. Where large numbers have an academical education, there will be a great proportion, who do not give any strong indications of genius.—The learned lumber which these men accumulate has no other way to find a market, but by assuming the names of taste and criticism. Inconsiderable talents are capable of spying out blemishes and finding fault. When certain rules of criticism are established, from which it is called unclassical to depart, they chill the natural warmth and boldness of the imagination. The fancy disdains controul, and when its wings are clipped by critical reviewers, it daunt not soar to those elevations it would aspire after, if unrestrained. As the imagination gives oratory its most lively powers of fascination, it is evident that the more the mind is fettered by established rules, the less scope it has to display those bold strokes of eloquence, which only warm and invigorate the heart, in proportion as they are sudden and unexpected.

But perhaps a much more probable reason than any I have offered, why we are so lavish of our admiration on ancient heroes and orators, results from the practice of studying the Latin and Greek languages. The students at an academy have not arrived at a maturity of age to form a comparison between the ancients and moderns, even if both had equal justice done them. But the greatest pains are taken to produce a veneration for the ancients; and such splendid examples are selected as will make strong and permanent impressions on a young, unguarded mind. The instructor will tell one, that he is obliged to hold out such allurements to encourage the scholars to overcome the difficulty of learning those languages. In addition to these causes of extravagant preference, the ambitious lad supposes he cannot shew his attainments so effectually as in celebrating the actions and names of those illustrious characters, which poets and historians have before celebrated.

It would have a good effect if the best speeches and writings of our countrymen were selected and used at schools and colleges as lessons both for reading and speaking. They would not suffer by a comparison with ancient specimens, either for propriety of sentiment or vigor of imagination. The best characters and most noble exploits which our own times and country can furnish, would, by these means, make forcible impressions on the rising generation. It would contribute to excite a national prejudice, without which, no government can exist in the highest degree of perfection.

FROM THE NEWPORT HERALD.

Translated from the PARIS GAZETTE, printed the year of our Lord, 2440.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WASHINGTON, the capital of the Union, May, 2440.

THE soldier and the statesman, whose name dignifies this federal city, forms the corner stone to this confederated republic. At his country's call he sacrificed the innocent pleasures of Vernonian Mount for the toils and dangers of a perilous war.—Though avarice was a ruling passion, he modestly declined all rewards for his services—though religion was unfashionable amongst the great, he was exemplary in his morals; and in victory, he acknowledged God to be the giver—though power was fascinating, he with pathetic joy resigned his sword.—Summoned again from his peaceful retreat to complete the glorious revolution, he accepted, from duty only, the first post of government, which he discharged with integrity, unbiassed by adulations or power. At his demise he left a second legacy to his country—THE EXAMPLE OF A VIRTUOUS STATESMAN—a model for succeeding Presidents.

These States where liberty, good faith, and equality fled for refuge 800 years ago, are now covered with numerous well regulated cities, and highly cultivated towns. The Constitution then formed, was so perfect, that it hath undergone few other changes that what regards the settlement of the new territory, and the extension of manufactures and commerce.—Public virtue and justice hath done more here than what courage and power ever effected in the world: Without the expence of a fleet rotting in docks or idly parading, our commerce is secured and our flag honored: Without a standing army in time of peace, turning useful laborers from the source of industry, the vigilance of our small guards, and the good order of our militia forms a permanent security for our borders and our sea coast.

LONDON, July, 2440.

The obstinacy and ambition of George the III. which severed America from our nation, was but a prelude to a separation from the rest of our colonial establishments which hath since taken place; and England, like ancient Rome, finds herself reduced to the boundaries that nature hath prescribed.

The consequence has however produced beneficial effects; it hath curtailed the power and dissipated the glare of the crown.—It hath placed the character of Charles the I. in a just light;—no longer is the temple profaned by deprecatory prayers and lying eulogiums; instead of which the statue of Protector Cromwell is erected upon the executed convict, facing the Parliamentary house, because the great man it represents is the true author of our present excellent constitution. The swarm of pensioners who feasted on honey that they did not collect, are annihilated: A magnanimous and free policy pervades our commercial system, and the capital and our islands are increasing in wealth, enjoying all a share in the common bounties of God.

PARIS, July, 2440.

Twelve ships of six hundred tons arrived up to the capital and brought an abundant supply of every necessary article; by which means the inhabitants no longer eat fish at ten times its value; no longer reigns on the borders of the Seine, a devouring capricious and insolent luxury, but instead of it there is a luxury of industry, a luxury which creates and improves every thing that contributes to supply the necessary wants and conveniences to all.

Absolute sovereignty has been long abolished, the Chief retains the title of King, without the will and power of a despot—he executes the laws—proposes useful establishments—and as a father of his people his ear is open to hear, and his justice to redress their wrongs. The States-General are vested with all legislative powers, their arrests are founded on the public good, they decide by plurality of voices. Lettres de Cachet are abolished, the bastille razed to its ground, and on its ruin is erected the Temple of Clemency.

The citizen is no longer a cypher in the State, for the general happiness of the country is founded on the safety of each individual—he fears no men, but the laws, and the Monarch himself is subject to them; the King is responsible to the States-General for the execution of his duty, and they to the people—hence we see our Princes fearing God, and the censure of posterity; regarding a good conscience and a spotless administration as the highest degree of earthly felicity.

The citizens of the present day have clear and just ideas of natural, political, and civil rights; they no longer degrade themselves in holding their lives and their properties at the will and pleasure of their rulers; amusements no longer divert their attention from general concerns, nor power crush them into silence—but all Frenchmen are free.

ENGLISH PARAGRAPH.

THERE is a late account from Paris, which mentions Col. Glover's going to take possession of Saint Affize, the late princely residence of the

Duchess of Kingston, and which formerly belonged to the Duke of Orleans. A great many respectable gentlemen attended him to that very magnificent palace, which is about 25 miles from Paris, situated upon a terrace equal to Windsor, at the bottom of which runs the river Seine. The views from the house and terrace are embellished with the finest villages, gentlemen's seats, woods and vineyards, and an extent of prospect impossible to describe. Every room in the house is richly and completely furnished. It contains 140 beds fit for any nobleman to sleep in; and to every bed room a dressing room, and chamber for a servant. The whole number of beds is 250. A large billiard room, a large hall, richly ornamented with statues, and fountains of water, which play and form cascades during dinner. The glass throughout the house is of great value. There is a fine play-house, and an elegant chapel. This magnificent building would be fit for a Prince of 2 or 300,000l. a year, although the whole of the revenues of the estate are not above 2500l. per annum. It is finely wooded, with various cuts through the woods and the end of each terminating in a rich beautiful prospect. The people paid Col. Glover great honors upon his arrival, as did all the neighboring gentlemen, together with the Stewards, Masters of the chase, &c. About 40 young men attended him the next day in a shooting party, where there was the greatest plenty of pheasants, partridges, flags, deer, and fawns. They presented the Col. with the gun which the old Duke of Orleans used; and all allowed it had never had been used to better purpose in so short a time, as the Colonel missed only one shot out of twenty times.

MR FENNO,

The insertion of the following in your paper will be agreeable to the series part of your readers—and it is presumed, will not offend others, as all have a pretence to goodness, since "seriousness is the native soil of every virtue."

On a late SACRAMENTAL OCCASION in the NORTH CHURCH.

The Measure in imitation of WATTS' "few happy matches"

FROM meaner themes my Muse ascend!

An angel ask some notes to lend,

To sing of Love Divine:

The Heav'n's a brighter lustre shed,

And glory beams around my head,

Since God himself is mine.

The thunders of Mount Sinai, now

No longer fright, its glowing brow,

Nor witness to our guilt;

The louder cries of Jesus' blood

Have quell'd their rage—appeas'd our God—

For this his blood was spilt.

To celebrate this dying love,

And raise their hearts to joys above

This low revolving sphere,

Behold a noble band arrive,

Who boldly dare in Christ believe—

Who dare be Christians here.

Around their Father's board they croud,

While joyful songs resound aloud;

While every rapture's high;

Blest prelude to that happy state,

Where feasts and songs, and crowns await,

In realms above the sky.

O! knew the worldling half this joy—

Half these delights, which never cloy,

How would his soul repine,

And mourn the foolish choice he made,

Of earthly pleasures—phantom shade,

In preference to divine.

Awake each sweetly founding string,

In notes sublime salute your King,

Let love inspire the strain.

And when ye take your glorious flight,

Up to your God, to dwell in light,

O! may I join your train.

CHRISTIAN.

THE NATIONAL MONITOR.—No. XIX.

"Curs'd be the verse how smooth soe'er it flow,"

Where lies and scandal mark the patriot's foe.

SCANDAL is the most powerful agent in the cause of anarchy and confusion.—It is to be regretted that too many characters who are abandoned in principle and conduct, possess at the same time so competent an acquaintance with human nature, that they know where to assail it with the greatest advantage. It must be acknowledged that we are so constituted, that the most improbable conjectures arrest our attention, and make an impression upon our minds. Our passive natures are vulnerable to the slightest external influence; but when, under the guise of a compliment, the bold front of calumny comes forward with a confident tale of defamation against a competitor, it is almost universally the case, that a fatal credence is the result.—When the sons of disorder and misrule have so far effected their object—the public confidence in their best friends may be shaken—Those, whom the sober dictates of reason and reflection have led the people to honor and respect as their best patriots, become the objects of envy and jealousy. Their opinions are disregarded and their usefulness is destroyed.

The consequences may be more easily conceived, than described. The object of the worst of men, in their innuendoes and slanders against public characters, is never the public good: It is first to supplant them in the affections of the people, that the way may be open to supplant them in the places they hold. Sometimes it is true, that slanders are uttered by inferior motives: Disappointment, chagrin, malice, and envy are often contented with a humbler grade of mischief: And if they can effect the ruin of characters which throw their own into the shade, they rest satisfied. In either of these cases, the public interest is sacrificed. Men of probity, abilities and independent principles are discouraged in their laudable exertions to serve their country. "The post of honor becomes a private station." The people bewildered by blind and wicked counsels, are plunged into confusion and anarchy; till torn by faction and tyrannized over by demagogues, they find their dearest interest in the arms of a despot.

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